REFLEX PROTO-AUSTRONESIA TO AMBELAU IN WEST CENTRAL MALUKU GROUP: 
THE EFFORT TO TEST 
THE HIPOTESIS COLLINS (1981)

I. INTRODUCTION

Ambelau (Ab) is used in Ambelau Island (in the southeast of Buru Island) and in Wae Tawa Village on the southeast coast of the mainland of Buru Island, in Maluku Province. The 1989 Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) survey results, as cited in Lewis et al (2015), are spoken by more than 5,700 speakers. Historically, the language by Esser (1938) and Salzner (1960) is classified into the Sula-Bacan Group with languages Buru (Br), Sula (Si), Taliabo (Tl), and Bacan (Bc). However, Collins (1983) eliminated Bacan from the group for including one of the Malay variants, and named the group with the Central West Maluku Group (Collins, 1980 and 1981). According to Collins, the languages are different groups with other Central Maluku (East) languages such as Asilulu, Seram, Naulu, Selaru, Banda, Ambon, Serua, and so on.

Collins's early studies (1981) show that the Ambelau language is closely related to the languages of Buru, Sula, and Taliabo. However, as Sumarlam et al (2017) pointed out, two evidences on Ambelau's relationship with Buru-Sula-Taliabo that Collins (1981) proposed are still inadequate. The proof is PAN: *t in the initial position (#-) and intervocal (# v-v#) into /t/ and /c/ in Ambelau while in Buru, Sula, and Taliabo become /l/, as the Ambelau separator with Buru-Sula-Taliabo. The change of PAN *t into /r/ also occurs in the languages of the Middle East Moluccas Group, namely Murnaten, Hunitetu, and Keitetu. Similarly, PAN: *k/#- and #v-v# in Ambelau tend to be unclear, whereas in Buru, Sula, and Taliabo languages retain. However, the initial search results, it turns out to be /q/ and /s/, and occur also in the languages of the Central Maluku Group (East).

In addition, Sumarlam et al (2017a and 2017b) attest to some of Collins' (1981) study differences with his studies primarily on Buru. According to Collins (1981), the languages of Buru (also Sula and Taliabo), PAN *t in the initial position (#-) and intervocal (#v-v#) change to /l/, while Sumarlam et al (2017b) show that the sound is retention or maintained regularly as /l/ and only innovated to /l/ and /s/, not /ll/. Collins (1981) argues that there is a merger of PAN *k and *p at the end position to /l/ in Buru, while the Sumarlam et al (2017b) study shows no innovation of PAN *p at the end position to /l/, whereas PAN *k becomes /l/ is irregular.

The above conditions are reasonable, given the Collins (1981) study in addition to the preliminary nature, the data...
used are still limited and only use written document data in the list of Doren van (1859), van der Crab (1862), Ludeking (1868) Wallace (1869), Jellesma (1875), van der Meisen (1902), Freiburg Moluccan Expedition (1910-1912), Schut (1915-1919), and Josselin de Jong (1941). Since the Collins (1981) study is preliminary and substantively requires additional evidence, further in-depth and advanced study should be undertaken. As the first step in that direction, an in-depth study of Proto-Austronesian (PAN) reflexes into the languages of the members of the West Maluku Group needs to be done. PAN reflex studies into the Ambelau language as one of the members of the Midwestern Maluku Group were conducted.

To solve the problem, field data was collected on Ambelau speakers in the form of 200 basic vocabulary and 800 cultural vocabulary with interview method. In addition, data were collected using literature methods in the form of an Austronesian Comparative Dictionary compiled by Blust and Trussel (2015). The collected data is then analyzed using a top-down approach by looking at the realization of PAN into the Ambelau language. Subsequently, an intralingual pad method is employed by the relation technique.

II. PROTO-AUSTRONESIAN REFLEXES TO AMBELAU LANGUAGE

In accordance with the objectives to be achieved, in this section will be exposed to the PAN sound reflex into the Ambelau language. This description is important, not only to see the sound-disordering irrelevance of ancient languages to modern languages, but the descriptions can be used for language groupings at the lower levels. Since this study intends to describe the PAN reflex into Ambelau language, a synchronic description of the PAN and Ambelau phonem systems is required so that what sounds will be reflected and what does not. Therefore, before the PAN reflex reflex into the Ambelau language will be described the number and type of phonemes contained in both.

As quoted in Blust (2013), PAN phonem consists of 32 phonemes consisting of 24 consonants (/p, t, c, k, q, b, d, z, j, g, m, n, p, ɲ, s, ʃ, h, l, r, y, dan w/), four vowels (/i, u, a, and ə/), and four diphthongs (-aw, -ay, -uy, and -iy). It should be noted that PAN *C is reconstructed from Proto-Melayu Polinesia (PMP) *t and *nt, while PAN *c of PMP *c and *nc. PAN *S reconstructed from PMP *h and *ø, whereas PAN *s of PMP *s and *ns. As for PAN *r reconstructed from PMP *r, while PAN *R from *R and *l. Except the phoneme /p/, /b/, /g/, and /j/, other sounds of each reconstruction of the phoneme. Thus, PAN *p of PMP *p and *mp; PAN *b of PMP *b and *mb; PAN *g of *g and *ng; and PAN *j from *j and *nj. As for the result of identification of Sumarlam et al (2017), Ambelau language contained phoneme /p, t, c, k, q, b, d, j, g, m, n, p, ɲ, s, ʃ, h, l, r, y, dan w/ as consonants (19 consonants) and eight vowels (/i, u, a, ɛ, o, ə, and a/) and two diphthongs.

A. Reflexes PAN *p

The analysis results, PAN * p at the initial and middle position in Ambelau is reflected regularly into /f/, except in the irregular end position. In addition, the initial PAN *p position is preserved, and if the data is expanded it can occur regularly.

B. Reflexes PAN *t

Results of data analysis, PAN * t experience retention and innovation. Retention occurs only in the initial and middle positions, each of which is irregular. PAN *t changes to /t/ and /l/ in the initial position, whereas the /t/ at last positions are each irregular. Changes to /t/ are possible to be regular if data expansions are done, as well as retention *t in the middle position.

Based on the above description, the PAN *t reflex into Ambelau language in the initial position has split (cracking).
C. Reflexes PAN *C

PAN *C changes to /t/, /r/, and /ø/ in Ambelau. The change to /r/ occurs in the middle and end positions each of which is orderly, whereas being /t/ takes place in the initial position and if expanded it is possible to be regular. As for being /ø/ occurs in the initial position and is irregular.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gloss} & \quad \text{PAN} & \quad \text{Ambelau} & \quad \text{Pattern} \\
\text{ear} & \quad *Calinga & \quad chrinani & \quad *C > \omega/#\- \\
\text{cry} & \quad *CangiS & \quad ntate & \quad *C > \upsilon/#- \\
\text{year} & \quad *CawiN & \quad tane & \quad *C > \upsilon/#- \\
\text{egg} & \quad *qisluR & \quad naprcho & \quad *C > r/#- \\
\text{die} & \quad *maCaY & \quad anamarah & \quad *C > r/#- \\
\text{octopus} & \quad *kuRiCa & \quad rira & \quad *C > r/#- \\
\text{vein} & \quad *huRaC & \quad uhare & \quad *C > r/#- \\
\text{sky} & \quad *langiC & \quad lainare & \quad *C > r/#- \\
\end{align*}
\]

Fig. 3. Reflexes of PAN*C

PAN *C reflexes into Ambelau language in the initial position are split, ie /t/ and /ø/, and are irregular.

D. Reflexes PAN *k

In addition to retention in the middle position, PAN *k is innovated, ie /h/, /ø/, and /w/ in the initial position and /c/ in the middle position. Both reflections are in the form of retention and innovation, each of which is irregular. Only, if the expanded data maintenance of PAN *k in the initial position is possible to be regular.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PAN *k} & \quad t & \quad /h/- (irregular) \\
& \quad r & \quad /h/- (irregular) \\
& \quad o & \quad /h/- (irregular) \\
\end{align*}
\]

The above data also shows that PAN *k both in the initial and middle positions equally split into /h/, /c/, /r/, /w/, and /h/.

E. Reflexes PAN *q

PAN phoneme *q, as far as the data found does not occur maintenance in Ambelau language. The change of PAN *q into /ø/ at the beginning and end positions each is regular, whereas being /s/ and /m/ in the starting position and /ø/ in the respective intermediate positions are irregular.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gloss} & \quad \text{PAN} & \quad \text{Ambelau} & \quad \text{Pattern} \\
\text{salt} & \quad *qasiRa & \quad sasse & \quad *q > s/#- \\
\text{salty} & \quad *qasin & \quad arraasi & \quad *q > m/#- \\
\text{shrimp} & \quad *qulang & \quad ular & \quad *q > zero/#- \\
\text{egg} & \quad *qiColur & \quad naprcho & \quad *q > a/#- \\
\text{shark} & \quad *qiSu & \quad u & \quad *q > a/#- \\
\text{min} & \quad *qvaN & \quad ula, etc. & \quad *q > a/#- \\
\text{new} & \quad *baqaRuh & \quad bihu & \quad *q > a/#- \\
\text{monkey} & \quad *kariq & \quad kosi & \quad *q > a/#- \\
\text{blood} & \quad *daRaqq & \quad hah & \quad *q > a/#- \\
\text{pare} & \quad *pariaq & \quad bapriyanc & \quad *q > a/#- \\
\text{turtle} & \quad *pepuq & \quad finu & \quad *q > a/#- \\
\text{blood} & \quad *daRaqq & \quad hah, etc. & \quad *q > a/#- \\
\end{align*}
\]

Fig. 5. Reflexes of PAN*q

PAN *q reflexes into Ambelau language split into /s/, /m/, /r/, and /ø/ in Ambelau.

F. Reflexes PAN *b

The sound of PAN *b is only retention regularly in the initial position in Ambelau, while in other positions it is innovated to be /h/, /ø/, /w/, and /p/. Changes to /ø/ and /p/ occur in the initial position, and become /w/ and /h/ in the middle position, each irregular. Reflexes to /ø/ and /p/ are possible to occur on a regular basis if data extensions are made.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gloss} & \quad \text{PAN} & \quad \text{Ambelau} & \quad \text{Pattern} \\
\text{crocodile} & \quad *buqiyu & \quad buwu & \quad *b > b/#- \\
\text{new} & \quad *baqaRuh & \quad bihu & \quad *b > b/#- \\
\text{pig} & \quad *babuy & \quad buwu & \quad *b > w/#- \\
\text{mane} & \quad *babuy & \quad buwu & \quad *b > w/#- \\
\text{stone} & \quad *batu & \quad baru, etc. & \quad *b > b/#- \\
\text{split} & \quad *belaq & \quad polana & \quad *b > p/#- \\
\text{moon} & \quad *bulaq & \quad potana & \quad *b > a/#- \\
\text{fast, quick} & \quad *bokas & \quad ngkasi & \quad *b > a/#- \\
\text{montain} & \quad *bulod & \quad uhace & \quad *b > a/#- \\
\text{pig} & \quad *babuy & \quad buwu & \quad *b > w/#- \\
\text{mine} & \quad *babuy & \quad buwu & \quad *b > h/#- \\
\end{align*}
\]

Fig. 6. Reflexes of PAN*b

The data above also shows that PAN *b has split into /b/, /p/, /w/, /h/, and /ø/.
G. Reflexes PAN *d

PAN *d is not retention in Ambelau language, but changes to /r/, /l/, and /h/ at initial position, becomes /l/ in middle position, and becomes /t/ in final position. The changes are irregular in nature.

![Fig. 7. Reflexes of PAN *d](image)

The above data also shows, in the initial position PAN *d split into /r/, /l/, /h/, and /t/.

H. Reflexes PAN *z, *j, and *c

PAN *z is reflected to /l/ in the initial and middle position, whereas PAN *j becomes /l/ and /s/ in the middle position each of which is irregular. As for PAN *c being /l/ in the middle position occurs irregularly.

![Fig. 8. Reflexes of PAN *z, *j, and *c](image)

The above data also shows that PAN *z splits into /z/ and /l/, while PAN *j becomes /l/ and /s/.

I. Reflexes PAN *m, *n, *ɲ, *ŋ, dan *N

PAN *m is still maintained in Ambelau language in the initial and middle position, while in the final position changes to /n/ and /ø/. Maintenance *m in the middle position occurs regularly, while in the initial position is irregular. Changes to /n/ and /ø/ are irregular.

![Fig. 9. Reflexes of PAN *m](image)

The above data also shows that the change of PAN *m in the final position has split to /m/, /n/, and /ø/.

PAN *n is still maintained in Ambelau language in the initial, middle and end positions, but only in a regular center position. Experiencing innovation takes place in the middle position (become /ɲ/) and end (to /ø/).

![Fig. 9. Reflexes of PAN *n](image)

The above data shows PAN *n split into /n/, /ɲ/, and /ø/ in Ambelau.

PAN *ɲ is still maintained in Ambelau language in the middle position, while in the initial position of innovation. PAN *ŋ in the middle position also innovated to /n/. Both retention and innovation, each occurring irregularly. As for PAN *ŋ nothing is preserved in Ambelau, but has been innovated to /n/ (in the middle position) and /ø/ (in final position). Changes to /n/ occur regularly, while being /ø/ is irregular.
Reflexes PAN *ɲ to Ambelau language split in different positions, as well as PAN *ŋ.

PAN *N is reflected as /n/, /r/, and /ø/ in Ambelau. PAN *N becomes /n/ occurs in the middle and end positions each of which is irregular. In the middle position is possible to occur regularly if the data is expanded. As for /r/ occurs in the middle position, while the /ø/ in the final position.

The above data shows that PAN *N has split, ie /n/, /r/, and /ø/ in Ambelau.

Phonem *S is reflected to /s/, /n/, and /ø/ in the initial position, and becomes /s/ and /ø/ in the middle position. Changes to /ø/ are regular in the initial position, while others are irregular. The change to /ø/ and /w/ in the middle position is possible to occur regularly if the data is expanded.

The above data shows that PAN *S has split to /s/ and /ø/ in Ambelau.

PAN *h is reflected to /h/ and /ø/ in Ambelau. To be /h/ takes place in the starting position and is regular, while /ø/ occurs in the middle and end position, each of which is irregular. In the final position, it is possible to be regular if the data is expanded.

The data above also shows that PAN *h has split to /h/ and /ø/ in Ambelau.
K. Reflexes PAN *l, *R, dan *r

PAN *l is maintained in Ambelau language in the initial and middle position, each is regular, but there is data showing PAN *l changes to /r/ in the middle position and is irregular.

\[ \text{Fig. 13. Reflexes of PAN } *l \]

The above data also shows that PAN *l split into /l/ and /r/ in Ambelau.

\[ \text{PAN } *h \rightarrow l \rightarrow r \]

From the data found that PAN *R is reflected to /r/, /h/, and /ø/ in Ambelau. The changes each occur in the middle position. In addition, it becomes /ø/ occurs in the final position. Changes to /h/ occur regularly, whereas /ø/ the end position occurs regularly.

**Fig. 14. Reflexes of PAN *R**

L. Reflexes PAN *y dan *w

PAN *y becomes /w/ and /ø/, respectively in the initial and middle position and are irregular. The PAN *y is simply reflected to /ø/ in the middle position in Ambelau.

**Fig. 15. Reflexes of PAN *y**

The data above also shows that PAN *w has become /w/ and /ø/, while PAN *y, is not.

M. Reflexes PAN *i

PAN *i in Ambelau language is still maintained in the initial position, penultima silabe, ultima silabe, and end. Only in the initial position, it occurs irregularly (but is possible to occur regularly if the data is expanded), while in other positions are regular. In addition, PAN *i has innovated to be /ɛ/ (on the penultimate silabe), /ø/ (on penultima silabe, ultima, and end syllabe), /ɛ/ (in the ultima silabe), and /ø/ (in the ultima silabe). Reflection PAN *i into the other sound is each irregular.

**Fig. 16. Reflexes of PAN *i**

The data above also illustrates that PAN *R split into /r/, /h/, and /ø/ in Ambelau.

The PAN *r is maintained to /r/ in the initial and middle position. Also, in the middle position the innovation becomes /l/ and at the end position becomes /ø/. Both experienced retention and reflex innovation are irregular.
The data above also shows PAN *i split into /i/, /u/, /e/, /ɛ/, and /ø/ in Ambelau.

O. Reflexes PAN *u

PAN *u is retention in Ambelau language at the initial position, penultima silabe, ultima silabe, and final position. Retention occurs regularly, except in the starting position. PAN *u has also been innovated to /o/ (on the penultimate silabe), /ɔ/ (on the penultimate silabe), and /e/ (in the ultima and final syllables).

The above data also shows PAN *i split into /i/, /u/, /e/, /ɛ/, and /ø/ in Ambelau.
The data above also shows PAN *a split into /a/, /e/, /ay/, and /ø/ in Ambelau. When observed, PAN phonemes that have not been found in Ambelau are *g and *aw. This happens because there is no seetimon form that contains both phonemes, either in PAN or in Ambelau.

The association with Collins (1981) level of kinship evidence, between the Ambelau language and Buru, Sula, and Taliabo, suggests three things. First, the evidence of Collins's (1981) clustering mainly related to Ambelau's separation of evidence with Buru-Sula-Taliabo, needs to be reviewed. That PAN *t becomes /t/ is irregular and only occurs in the initial position. In addition, PAN *t in Ambelau in that position is changed to /t/, /l/, and /n/ each of which is irregular, so it is not sufficient to be a separator in determining the kinship level of the Central West Maluku languages. Secondly, the evidence of Ambelau's separation with Buru-Sula-Talibo in the form of PAN *k, was still retention in Ambelau as well as in Buru-Sula-Talibo. Third, it is necessary to identify the PAN *t and *k reflexes in Buru, Sula, and Taliabo so that Collins's (1981) grouping basis is more adequate. Fourth, another evidence should be identified that explains the separation of Ambelau languages with Buru, Sula and Taliabo by doing similar studies in those languages.

III. CONCLUSION

The above description illustrates that, except *g and *aw, PAN phonemes are reflected in Ambelau language, either through retention or innovation. The retention and innovation PAN phonemes are *p, *t, *k, *b, *m, *n, *ŋ, *s, *h, *l, *r, and *y, whereas vowels *i, *u, and *a. The only innovated PAN phonemes (not retention) are *C, *q, *d, *z, *j, *c, *N, *S, *h, *R, *y, *ay, *iw, *uy, and *o. PAN reflexes either through retention or innovation, each of which is regular and irregular. It is worth mentioning, PAN phoneme reflex into Ambelau language split. This study is only able to identify the level of kinship that separates Ambelau from Buru-Sula-Talibiab. Collins' (1981) separation evidence is not sufficient to determine the kinship rate especially in the early developmental phase of Proto-Maluku Tengah Barat. In order for the Collins (1981) study to be comprehensively verified, a similar study is needed in those three languages.

References


Schut, J. (1915). Kitab-enbasat toeh liet-emlia-e (Lai 1-4)

